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EASY ESSAYS

Dorothy Day

REPORT FROM ROME

Karl Meyer

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

Tom Cain

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THIS WEEK

EDITORIALS

155 Too Many?
156 Steel Price Hike
156 Foreign Aid Debate
157 On Sharing the Mass

ARTICLES, FEATURES

158 Peace on Earth
by John Cogley
160 The Invisible Men
by James O'Gara
161 African Students in Russia
by Joseph C. Kennedy
164 Down on the Farm
by Murray Polner
166 "Good Cause, Bad Argument"
An Exchange of Views

VERSE

172 Missing Persons
John C. Hanley

DEPARTMENTS

170 The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung
171 Books
174 Art: The Armory Show
by Betty Kaufman

THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
JOHN LEO, *Associate Editor*
WALTER ARNOLD, JR., *Assistant Editor*

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Too Many?

NOTHING, PERHAPS, reflects the growing maturity of the Catholic Press better than what it says about itself. Not long ago Catholic Press Month editorials were largely promotional and self-congratulatory; now they are more often self-critical, sometimes harshly so. This seemed to be the case this year.

A number of themes are raised regularly, and need to be: the status of the lay editor, the lingering reluctance in some quarters to deal with "controversial" issues, the lack of any effective cooperation among diocesan newspapers. One issue, however, was new this year, or at least it was discussed widely, if not in depth, for the first time. And that issue is the number of American Catholic periodicals. Put briefly the question would be: Do we have too many Catholic publications?

Apart from the increased self-awareness of the Catholic press, the conditions that give this question special pertinence are those shared by the secular press—rising costs, limited resources and increased competition, partly through the proliferation of new periodicals. At the moment there are more than 400 American Catholic magazines, some 35 of which were born in the past fifteen months.

There is one condition, however, that the Catholic press, for better or worse, does not always share with the general press—it is not strictly subject to the normal economic forces that eliminate unfit publications. The needs that secular magazines attempt to meet are not always admirable, but they must meet them or go out of business. It is possible, however, for a Catholic magazine to meet no special need, perform no special service, and still continue in publication, supported directly by a religious order or subsidized through appeals to individual Catholics who do not read the magazine in question, but who prop it up out of charity or a vague sense of loyalty.

Subsidies, of course, are no disgrace, and too much emphasis should not be given to the effect of economic "laws" on the Catholic press. But the point is that publications which are failing to meet real needs are less likely to rethink their purpose in publishing if some economic force cannot be felt. Referring to publications of some religious orders, Philip Scharper says in the current issue of *The Critic*: "I have often wondered in the lonely watches of the night why so many religious communities, for example, simply do not let the beast die. Since their particular beast leads a marginal existence at best—its breath forced, its flanks withered—an outsider would deem the publication a luxury the community simply could not afford."

Some of the best Catholic magazines are put out by religious orders, but so are some of the worst. In these latter cases, it seems to be tradition and a concern for prestige that keep "dying beasts" alive. Some, not near death at all, exist primarily to advertise the projects of the sponsoring order and to attract funds to support them.

THE ARGUMENT that too many Catholic magazines exist cannot be proved by numbers alone. A total of 400 magazines for 40 million Catholics is not a proportion to alarm. What is alarming is the duplication of effort and needless competition for subscribers and advertisers and often writers. Money and talent are spread thin over a number of magazines of similar appeal instead of being concentrated into one first-class product.

The diversity of the press is not at stake here. Nor is it a matter of defending old magazines against new ones. New and valuable magazines will continue to emerge to meet specific needs. Some of the most valuable, such as *The Ecumenist* and *The Bible Today*, have appeared within the last year or so. Others will be born as new needs arise and competent men come forward to meet them.

We do not need a determination to keep the num-

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ber of periodicals from growing; we must, however, study the needs of the American Catholic community and make the Catholic press conform, as far as possible, with those needs. We admit that these are easy words. No publication is likely to declare itself superfluous, and the road to effective cooperation, let alone consolidation, is strewn with barbs. But the road must be taken, and it may not be long before economics forces us to walk it.

A willingness to take a fresh look is the first step. Catholic newspapers, for instance—must the structure always be diocesan? Why not a statewide paper in less Catholic areas, or regional or national papers called into being by common interest instead of diocesan boundaries? The prospects, too, of consolidating similar magazines might be greater than is now supposed.

Most of all what is needed is a serious depth study of the Catholic press as a whole. None has ever been undertaken, and it would be a mistake to think that a careful study, inevitably costing several thousand dollars, would win quick praise among Catholic editors and publishers. But it would provide the guidelines for the major decisions the Catholic press will be called on to make in the next decade.

The deployment of men and resources in the Catholic press, as in education, will have to be more efficient in years to come. It will simply mean more emphasis on the needs to be met than on the freedom to publish regardless of need.

Steel Price Hike

MR. KENNEDY's calm reactions to the announced price rises in the American steel industry provide a decided contrast to his sentiments of a year ago. Then he was understandably indignant at the steel companies for decreeing an across-the-board hike of six dollars a ton right after signing a "non-inflationary" wage agreement supported by the White House.

This time the price rise is at a slightly lower figure, it is "selective" (applying to items which account for around thirty percent of production), and it was announced, and revised, piecemeal. On the products affected it amounts to about three and one half percent. The President is determined not to appear anti-business; he seemed to relish the idea that prices were being raised on items in heavy demand, thanks, for example, to the second consecutive big year in the American auto industry. He declared himself still opposed, as he was last year, to general price rises.

For the big steel companies the objectives appear to be unchanged. They seek higher profits. Like a number of other large corporations in America they want sufficient margin to finance new plant solely from their own resources. Further borrowing would increase annual charges, thereby reducing the per share return to present stockholders. The companies greatly prefer to have the consumer himself supply the funds needed to modernize sufficiently to keep pace with the postwar facilities of European and Japanese competitors.

For steelworkers unemployment is the major problem. The price rise has presented them with the chance to open new labor-management negotiations. They would like wage adjustments consonant with recent increases in living costs, but are much more concerned about job security. The industry's Human Relations Committee has yet to report how such devices as longer vacations and limitations on overtime can be harmonized with efficiently stable production.

Higher prices for a key commodity such as steel cannot help but be inflationary. The kinds of steel affected have heavy use in our auto, appliance and construction industries. A boost in employment costs is likely to follow; higher price tags on a number of products made of steel have already been announced. A wide psychological effect on other American industries is unavoidable. Little can be expected from Mr. Kennedy's mild exhortations to workers and steel-users to exercise restraint. By the time "stockpiling" is completed and declining demand—aggravated by foreign competition and resort to substitute materials—brings about some price reductions in steel, the wage-price spiral will undoubtedly be at a new level. In an economy such as ours, without better means of protecting the public good, it is hardly surprising for each component to seek its own interest within feasible limits and with checks only occasionally.

Foreign Aid Debate

CONGRESS is currently undergoing its annual fit of scrupulosity and conscience-pricking over foreign aid appropriations. Sooner or later the funds will have to be appropriated. But the only question is whether they will be adequate to the United States' increased responsibility in the world or whether they will really represent an emasculation of that responsibility.

Time and again the President has made it clear that while the foreign aid program may need "tightening up" in some respects, still it is essential that the annual outlay of such funds keeps pace with the needs of the free and developing nations of the world. To that end the Committee headed by Gen-

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eral Lucius D. Clay was appointed recently. Yet while its report solidly defended the idea behind foreign aid, its critical phrases have been seized by the enemies of foreign aid as a pretext for demanding even further cuts than the President has already authorized on the basis of the report.

The latest among these requests for cuts has come, predictably enough, from General Clay himself. He now claims that by judicious pruning the President's revised request can be reduced by three hundred million dollars to 4.2 billions. The interested citizen should recall that this is a substantial drop from the 4.5 billions regarded by the President as adequate, after "pruning" the originally suggested 5 billions. Moreover, for "diplomatic reasons" General Clay has not indicated where his recommended cuts ought to come. It is, of course, crucial to know which areas of the world General Clay would regard as expendable from the point of view of our national interest. If foreign aid is regarded as hope for the less favored peoples of the earth, of course, no nation could be thought of as expendable.

It is true that most independent observers and analysts have pointed out that the one undeniable fact about the Clay report is that it accurately reflects the conservative Republican bias of the majority of the members of the Committee. The fact that General Clay can be regarded as an Administration witness is simply astounding. In that case, one shudders to think of the cuts that "less sympathetic" witnesses will consider justified. Already, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Thomas E. Morgan, Democrat of Pennsylvania, predicted an authorization of "something under" this year's appropriation of 3.9 billion dollars.

The trouble is that too often any reason for cutting foreign aid is taken as a good one. Most recently, for example, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in an interesting address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said that he did not feel that military assistance to nations "that are not firmly committed to the side of freedom" was justified. Yet if that would be taken to justify cutting off such aid to neutral countries like India, it might very well be disastrous.

Less subtly, but no less questionably, Mr. Nixon said that "under no circumstances can we justify aid" to socialist or "socializing" countries. On that basis we would have nothing to do with most of the developing and neutral nations, for it is hardly possible for a struggling people to assume all the duties of democracy at once, without socializing some of its activities. Curiously enough, among the good things in Mr. Nixon's talk, and there are a number, he states the true objective of general foreign assistance: to "strengthen the economy and political stability of the nation assisted." Granted that that is the true aim of such assistance, Mr. Nixon's strictures against "socialism" are quite inconsistent with it. There should be no such political strings attached to the program.

Finally, Mr. Nixon spoke of "exporting the idea of freedom" as one of the chief aims of the whole program. That is certainly a true goal and it goes beyond the rather selfish objectives of "security" and "national interest." Public opinion polls, moreover, show a greater proportion of citizens in support of the need for foreign aid. Hopefully, Congress will listen to the people as well as to the "experts" in the current debate and eventually vote an appropriation adequate to the increasing responsibilities of the United States in an expanding, and shrinking, world.

Next Week

RONALD GROSS writes about "the problem of leisure" in twentieth-century American society: "The first conjecture might be how anyone with a sense of history could possibly distinguish this as the 'Age of Leisure.' As Hannah Arendt has pointed out, the renowned decrease in working hours during the past hundred years is vastly overrated, because it is measured against the extreme conditions prevailing during the first stages of industrialism. Taking a somewhat longer view, we find that the Greeks of the classical period enjoyed leisure time much beyond our own by simply working only hard enough to earn their sustenance."

On Sharing the Mass

THE MASS is undoubtedly the great communal celebration and sacrifice of the Catholic Church. Yet a great deal of exhorting and working and praying needs to be done before the communal aspect of the Holy Sacrifice can be made fully apparent to Catholic and non-Catholic alike. This was apparent recently, when after a most earnest sermon reminding the people of their part in the common worship of the Church, the priest returned to the altar to recite the Creed—alone.

Of course the celebrant in this particular case did not *really* offer the Creed alone, but the fact is that throughout the Mass there was not even a token effort at dialogue. It is not really fair to will the end, namely full participation in the Mass, and not the means, namely the use of dialogue. There is no use in insisting on the people's part in the communal

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offering, if the words by which the people can become fully aware of their part are not shared.

Perhaps the real test of the effectiveness of such a sermon would be if it moved any of the congregation to visit the rectory afterwards and, quite frankly, complain about the absence of dialogue. Once again, it is to be hoped that the spirit and words of the present Council can soon move the priests and the people of God to seek the perfection of the "acceptable offering" whereby the world is renewed.

HERE AND THERE

Peace on Earth

POPE JOHN'S *Pacem in Terris* must be counted among the greatest of modern encyclicals. It may also be one of the historic documents of our time, destined to shape the world to come. I can not recall any encyclical's being received with such widespread approval, and even excitement. It was taken as a kind of breakthrough to a new way of thinking about world order. Its basic principles, of course, are not new at all, but its effect will be revolutionary if, as the Pope prays, it releases new energy, by refreshing faith in the possibility of peace, stimulating hope in the future of mankind, and eliciting the charity found among peoples the world over who want to live without the threat of war hanging over them but do not quite know how.

Just a month ago I said in these pages that the question haunting our generation is, Who speaks for Man? *Pacem in Terris* came as a kind of dramatic reply. In it, the Pope stated specifically that he spoke not only as the head of the Church but as one who voiced the longing of all humanity. He addressed himself, consequently, not only to the Catholic world but to people of all faiths and of none, a precedent-breaking attempt to rally all men of good will to the cause of peace.

The encyclical was widely reported and significant excerpts were quoted in newspapers all over the world. As might have been expected, the immediate response in certain quarters on both sides of the Iron Curtain was to make use of the encyclical as an instrument of political propaganda. Communists played up aspects which fit in with their current party line. I saw some American editorials which picked up paragraphs that fitted in nicely with our propaganda needs, and some even used selected quotes to bolster partisan prejudices. There will be more of this. But, taken *in toto,* the document transcends all the unworthy uses to which it will inevitably be put by propagandists in and out of the Church.

The task for the American Catholic community, then, is to see to it that it is not quickly forgotten. It would be tragic if it were partially digested, or piously—but meaninglessly—accepted and filed away. It would be especially sad if it were used, like *Mater et Magistra,* not as an inspiration and a guide for action but as a kind of loyalty oath by which various parties within the Church are tested. Certainly, it is much too significant and important a document to be involved in the kind of trivial intramural squabble that followed upon the *National Review's* impertinent dismissal of *Mater et Magistra.*

I BELIEVE that *Pacem in Terris* is a classic encyclical for at least five reasons.

First, the encyclical is not overly specific in its directives and suggestions. The Holy Father leaves much for the political experts to work out and wisely avoids making concrete applications of most of the general principles he invokes. For instance, at one point he states: ". . . the public authority of the world community must tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political, or cultural character which are posed by the universal common good." He does not structure the problems or blueprint solutions to them; he limits himself, rather, to stating that there are problems which are worldwide in character, that they must be solved on a worldwide basis, and that the supra-national authority necessary to solve them must root its claim in the will of mankind.

This strikes me as a particularly happy stratagem because it leaves the secular authority free to come to terms with change and to adjust "solutions" that are outmoded. It does not presuppose any absolutely static world order. At the same time, the directive is general enough to cover any situation that may arise in the future. In the past, I am afraid, some students of the labor encyclicals were so talmudic in their approach that they found themselves talking about a world that had quietly ceased to exist. *Pacem in Terris,* happily, seems to avoid this possibility.

The second characterization of the encyclical that I find appealing is almost the opposite: the Holy Father was not so remotely general and unspecific that the encyclical could turn out to be little more than a fervorino or its directives subject to endless exegesis. When the Pope talked about the United Nations, for example, he said what he meant.

The reference can not be interpreted as some ideal world body made up of exclusively sinless men and God-fearing nations. In times past, this kind of platonic interpretation of encyclicals was a favorite dodge of those who did not like the trend of papal thought but still wanted to remain one hundred per cent loyal. The Pope, they used to say, is not talking about this U.N.—

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this grab-bag of theists and atheists, democrats and totalitarians—he is talking about a world body that will only be possible when God is universally recognized by all—a world body that we can never expect to see in our time.

The third point is close to this. *Pacem in Terris* is a soundly realistic document. While it is packed with sound doctrine, it somehow avoids being doctrinaire. It recognizes that the world we have to keep from being blown to smithereens is the imperfect world we live in—the only one we have. The Holy Father does not propose that world peace will be possible only after all men have become Christians, in name or in fact, or only after hearts have been purified, or this evil or that has been totally abolished. His plan for peace is not founded on any utopian dreams.

If, as he himself said, he is optimistic, his optimism is not based on either naïveté or perfectionism. He seems to reject the devil theory of politics and maintains an indestructible faith in person-to-person contact. For example, Catholics are encouraged to collaborate, in the cause of peace, with men of other religions and of none, including—it would seem—even Communists, "always, however, in accordance with the principles of natural law, with the social doctrine of the Church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority." I take it that this refers particularly to Catholics working in international bodies where the representatives of Communist governments also have a voice.

In another passage, the Holy Father seems to be aware of the wholesale denunciations hurled against liberalism, socialism, etc., in the past, anathemas which are still invoked by Catholic isolationists against traffic with the old "enemy." He says: "It must be borne in mind that neither can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin, and destiny of the universe and of man, be identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural, or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from these teachings and have drawn and still draw inspiration therefrom. Because the teachings, once they are drawn up and defined, always remain the same, while the movements working on historical situations in constant evolution, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to change, even of a profound nature. Besides, who can deny that those movements, in so far as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?"

A fourth quality of the encyclical is that the presentations are integral. Undoubtedly, it was elicited by a burning pastoral desire on the part of the Holy Father (he called it his Easter present to the world), but its directives are put in a context which shows the exquisite conformity between reason and faith. Each point is developed rationally and sequentially, starting with the rights of the person and ending in the need for a world order that exists, not like a "gathered church," in the mind of God alone, but as a visible, identifiable organization in a naughty world. The pieces —natural law, Revelation, experience—are put together to form a splendid mosaic. The pastoral exhortations coming at the conclusion, then, are not mere outcries of papal anguish for the sad state of the world or expressions of Christian zeal, but seem to be a logical development from what has gone ahead.

The fifth point—and this of course is a most arbitrary listing of mine—is that the encyclical unmistakably recognizes the need for political action and structural organization if peace is to be served. Again, the Holy Father takes account of the changes that have revolutionized the world since World War II. He recognizes, for example, that conventional diplomacy and power-relationships between heads of state are no longer enough when the fate of mankind is at stake. He points up the need for a supra-national body, not a debating society but one armed with genuine authority and a claim on universal allegiance. He suggests that the United Nations, being here, should be given wider powers and prays that in time it will be the guardian of individual personal rights for men the world over. That, of course, would cover everyone from Chinese peasants to Birmingham, Alabama Negroes.

Elsewhere in the encyclical, he gives his blessing to the end of colonialism by upholding not only the equality of all men regardless of color, but the equality of states as well. ". . . political communities may have reached different levels of culture, civilization or economic development. Neither is that a sufficient reason for some to take unjust advantage of their superiority over others. . . . All political communities are of equal natural dignity, since they are bodies whose membership is made up of these same human beings." In the Catholic world at least, this should be the final deathknell of racism, cultural imperialism, and the colonial mindset.

Pacem in Terris makes many other points, of course. The Pope speaks of the urgent need for multilateral, simultaneous disarmament, for example, and calls for an end to nuclear testing in the atmosphere. In another place, he counsels Catholics to work with patience as members of groups, some of whose members might be considered antagonistic to certain aspects of Christianity. He opposes the revolutionary, violent method of exorcising political evil and stresses the need for forbearance, tolerance and reliance on the weapons of peace.

When, in the document, John XXIII refers to himself as the Vicar of Christ on earth, even the skeptic must be momentarily tempted to accept the claim. The voice speaking is that Christ-like. JOHN COGLEY

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The Invisible Men

I HAVE, rather belatedly, been reading *Newsweek's* April 1 coverage of unemployment in America. It is an excellent treatment of what is undeniably a complicated and difficult subject.

"Poverty in the midst of plenty" is the phrase used to describe the present situation—a cliché, of course, but still the most apt description. The Affluent Society is a fact. "Americans unquestionably earn more, spend more, and enjoy more material wealth than any other people in the history of the world, and the figures keep going up." Yet inside the Affluent Society almost five million people this year will be jobless for fifteen weeks or more, about half of them heads of families.

The problem is growing worse, not better. Since the war, business has bounced back from recession four times—but each time the unemployment figures were left a little higher. The causes are easy to isolate, difficult to cure.

As Mr. Kennedy emphasized in his Presidential campaign, the U.S. economy is not growing nearly fast enough. The U.S. rate of growth has since 1957 averaged only three per cent a year, as compared with five per cent for booming Western Europe. Since World War II the labor force has increased by twenty-one per cent, while jobs have increased only seventeen per cent. Two years ago, 2.6 million Americans reached the age of 18; two years from now, the number reaching that age will be 3.8 million. Finally, there is the specter of technological change; automation is devouring jobs at an estimated rate of 1.5 million a year.

All this adds up to an unemployment figure which is high and which will, barring a political or economic miracle, go higher. Part of the problem is that the unemployed tend to be invisible. They are in the pockets of depression extending from West Virginia to Minnesota; they are in the racial slums of Chicago, Detroit and New York, where unemployment runs at least twice as high as the national average. This invisibility of the unemployed keeps people from feeling the concern they should.

One of the great values of the *Newsweek* coverage is that it shows the unemployed not as statistics but as people—a steelworker of 54, for example, whose plant was closed down and "who probably will never work again"; a teenager who foolishly dropped out of school because he wanted to "stop mooching on my mother and father"; a Negro laborer in Chicago, where Negroes make up thirteen per cent of the work force but forty per cent of the unemployed; a sixty-one year old itinerant farm laborer who has worked at his trade since he was fifteen but is now losing out to the machine; a sturdy twenty-six-year-old in depressed Scranton, who took special training in electronics but still can't get a job. Each has his own story, each his own personal tragedy.

There are plenty of depressed areas—those marked by "substantial and persistent unemployment." Although the major ones are in the industrialized Northeast, the others are spread all over the country. As of now, there are 18 "major" depressed areas, 103 "smaller" areas and 454 "very small" areas, combining to form a pattern of blight that pocks the face of the whole United States.

In the years ahead automation will be the big villain in the unemployment picture. The U.S. has no choice; if it is to compete in the world market, it must slash costs, which means that it must continue to automate. Indeed, many U.S. plants are already obsolete when compared with the rebuilt industries of Western Europe or Japan. Automatic machines can turn out a finished engine block every forty-five seconds or roll a 19-ton bar of steel into sheets one-tenth of an inch thick with no human help at all; if we are to compete in world markets, this is necessary, but the fact remains that the machines can destroy jobs at an even faster rate. This year, for instance, Detroit turned out a million more cars than it did ten years ago, but it did so with two hundred thousand fewer workers. No wonder labor is thinking more and more in terms of a shorter work week, even if spreading the work is clearly no overall solution.

Our attack on the unemployment problem will have to be public and private. On the public side, we need tax reduction and reform to generate more investment and hence more job opportunities; my only fear about the Administration's tax proposals is that they will turn out to be too little and too late. We need a vastly expanded effort to train unemployed youngsters and direct their energies into useful channels. We need to modernize and strengthen the unemployment insurance system, and we need to close the loopholes in minimum wage coverage. Right now we need fast action on expanded public works programs, similar to but larger than the Administration measure which recently passed the House.

On the private side, we need a better understanding of the social responsibilities of industry, especially in this matter of automation. The technological changes now under way will be second only to the original Industrial Revolution in their impact. If they are to benefit society as a whole, industry will have to plow much of its potential gain from automation into imaginative efforts at profit-sharing and worker re-education. The last time around industrialists failed miserably in their social responsibilities, with terrible results. We cannot afford another failure this time.

JAMES O'GARA

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Racial Discrimination As It Exists in the U.S. Is Unknown

African Students in Russia

JOSEPH C. KENNEDY

WHEN SEVERAL hundred African students decided to leave Bulgaria last February, after complaining of student restrictions, political indoctrination and racial discrimination, attention focused on the total experience of African students in the Soviet bloc countries. Do Africans who study in these countries return home filled with Communist ideology? Do they become "pro-Russian" or "anti-American" as a result of their experiences? In Bulgaria, many African students disillusioned by the Communist system turned hopefully to the West for educational assistance. But what of Africans who study in the Soviet Union itself? What are their experiences and reactions to the "Russian way of life"?

Recently, while traveling through the Soviet Union, I talked with many African students. They had come from all over Africa, and were studying at such places as the Leningrad University, the University of Kiev, Moscow State University, and Friendship-Lumumba University. Most of these students had been in the Soviet Union at least a year. I was especially interested in the views of students from Ghana and Nigeria, having earlier spent a year in those countries studying West African attitudes toward both the United States and the Soviet Union.

These students from Ghana and Nigeria very quickly let it be known that they were not "becoming Communists." One student from Nigeria remarked, "We come to get an education. Our problems are not ideological. We don't care about socialism." A student from Ghana said, "That we are becoming Communists is only propaganda. Some people think we will be carrying guns and fighting for Communism. That is only propaganda." Still another Ghanaian added, "Africans aren't Communists. The African wants to own something himself. He wants to earn and get ahead for himself." These students admitted, however, that the factor which most influenced their impressions of the Soviet Union (and would make them pro-Russian or pro-American) was not any deliberate political indoctrination, but rather their day-to-day experience within the country and how they were treated by the Russian people.

While there are a number of experiences which work to the detriment of the Soviet Union and tend to make these students wish they were studying in the United States or the West, there is one which could overshadow all the others and relegate the United States to second place behind the Soviet Union in prestige and influence in Africa. This one experience relates to racial discrimination.

In going to the Soviet Union, the African doesn't know exactly what to expect "racially"—but if anything he anticipates negative treatment. For he knows "white" Europeans and Americans who discriminate—and Russians are "white people." It is here the African gets one of his biggest surprises. On arriving, he goes to study at "People's Friendship University Named After Patrice Lumumba." This university, established in 1960 as "People's Friendship University" with the purpose of educating students from the underdeveloped countries, had Lumumba's name added to it after his death. Though Americans and even some Africans view this renaming of the university as strictly a propaganda move, for many Africans "Lumumba University" stands as one of the rare times in history where a university in any part of the world has been named after a black man. They are sufficiently impressed upon attending this university.

THE AFRICANS' biggest surprise comes when they begin to move about the country. In their activities they find, "there is no discrimination; you go any place you want." As they move among the girls and boys they find, "they are so friendly; they like to meet us." When they go shopping or wait for buses, they find that rather than being pushed aside, often they are treated especially well because of their color. Several students remarked, "If there is a long queue, they see us and say, 'Oh, come up to the front. Don't wait.'" In general, the African student finds that a dark skin is an asset. The reaction of the Russian people is summed up by the statement made by a Ghanaian, "Our black skins are our passport."

In spite of general agreement that discrimination does not exist in the Soviet Union, there were a few reports of such things as walking down the street and having people call out, "Hi, Blackie!", or of even being turned

JOSEPH C. KENNEDY is a research associate of the Human Ecology Fund. This is his first appearance in The Commonweal.

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away from a hotel. When these incidents were related, the students added that these were "hooligans" doing the shouting, and "maybe it's not derogatory, maybe they haven't seen any Africans before." In reference to being turned away from a hotel they added, "Sometimes it's the fault of the African student who doesn't know how to behave. All the Russians can do if you get in trouble is send you home, and they don't want to do that. So they don't let you in." Thus, even these incidents were spoken of as "what might be discrimination" rather than as clearly perceived acts of racial discrimination.

Though undoubtedly there are incidents of discrimination in the Soviet Union, racial discrimination as it exists in the United States is unknown. There is no segregation of any kind. There are laws against expressions of racial prejudices, and these laws are swiftly enforced. As an American of African descent, an American Negro, traveling in the Soviet Union, I found my experiences consistent with those of the majority of African students. In the street, at the theater, in restaurants, at dances, in homes—nowhere did I meet with the slightest indication of discrimination. On the contrary, people often asked—especially on the beaches of Sochi and Yalta—how it would be possible for them to have a dark skin. (Of course it should be pointed out that until recently there have been virtually no dark-skinned people in the Soviet Union, and there is no history of black-white racial strife. Conceivably this situation could change with an influx of large numbers of Africans.)

Balanced against this one great positive experience are several which give African students a kind of exposure harmful to Soviet prestige and influence. The most damaging is the African reaction to the Soviet standard of living. For most African students the level on which the people live is much worse than had been anticipated—and this in spite of the fact that at home, in West Africa, they had said, "All we know about Russia, the British told us." (And the British certainly had not glorified Russia—just the opposite.) One student commented, "When I arrived at the Moscow airport, I was surprised because it's not as good as ours in Kano (Northern Nigeria)." Another student, also from Nigeria, said, "Yes, coming in from the airport, I saw bad housing—which we have in Africa—but I hadn't expected bad housing in a country that had sent a man into space and a rocket around the moon."

A student from Ghana said, "We don't have much in Ghana yet. I thought they would have much more here. When I was leaving Accra (the capital of Ghana), I gave all my shirts away because I thought they wouldn't be good enough in Russia. I got here and found my shirts were better than what they have here." Other students spoke of expecting to come to a "paradise" and being disappointed in the amount and quality of food, clothing, cigarettes, and the lack of consumer goods in general.

CERTAINLY it is understandable how a person from Western Europe or the United States might be surprised by the comparatively low standard of living in the Soviet Union, for there definitely is a limited supply of consumer goods. (Good well-fitting clothes are hard to come by. On several occasions young fellows on the street wanted to buy the jacket I wore, or displayed a sweater bought from a foreign traveler.) But why should students from "underdeveloped" Africa consider the Soviet standard of living so poor? The answer is that both Ghana and Nigeria—to cite the countries I have visited—do have a wide variety of consumer goods—clothing, mechanical devices, automobiles, international newspapers and magazines (though introduced by the British, imported from Britain and the United States, and out of the financial range of most Africans). These goods are present for the educated African to see. Having faith in rapid African development, he believes that in a short time, these goods will be available to all the people.

With this in mind, the African is extremely disappointed by what he sees in the Soviet Union. This is of course ironic, for the one great claim the Russians have made to the African countries—and their greatest appeal to them—is that they have taken an industrially backward country (the Soviet Union) and in a short period of forty-five years have moved it to the forefront of the world. (It follows that the African, too, can make this great jump forward if he adopts the Russian way.) Here the Russians seem to have fallen victims of their own propaganda. Their great exploitations in space led to great expectations of internal material development. It comes as a shock to the African student to be confronted by such a visibly low standard of living.

THERE WERE other African experiences, also detrimental to the image of the Soviet Union, which undoubtedly would be encountered only in that country. All of these experiences centered around restrictions placed on the African students. One complaint, whether real or fancied, which came up quite often and in various ways related to African students' freedom of expression. "You can't trust any of them (Russians). They are

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afraid. I'll wait until I leave, then I'll say what I really think." Several students felt "people are watching you." Others said, "Some students spy on you and report and get extra money." Some students said their rooms and bags had been searched. Still others reported it was difficult to have student meetings because a university authority always had to be present and then "you can't speak freely. They think you are planning against them." Another student who wanted information about universities in the United States then added, "but don't send me information in the mails. They get suspicious if we get mail from America."

While many of their suspicions may have been partly imagined, a personal experience with a group of students would tend to give merit to their views. While in Sochi, a beautiful resort area on the Black Sea, I had met several Nigerian students on the beach. They had come from Moscow and were high in their praise for the Soviet Union. The following day we met again. As we were standing talking, one student said, "We had better go. We don't want him to see us." When I inquired about this, one student remarked, "That's an authority from our camp (where they were staying in Sochi). If he sees us talking in English to someone, he gets suspicious and doesn't like it—we'd better go." And they left immediately.

Another bitter complaint was their inability to travel outside the Soviet Union. During the summer vacation from classes, many African students wanted to visit Western Europe—especially London and Paris—but could not, because of the peculiar status of the ruble. According to Soviet law, rubles cannot be carried out of (or taken into) the Soviet Union. Generally, the Soviet government will not convert rubles into dollars or sterling or another foreign currency for African students. Thus, an African who manages to save rubles during the year cannot convert them for use outside the country. (Though he can purchase in rubles a round-trip ticket to London, once there he would have no money to live on.)

A part of this same complaint is that students cannot work in the Soviet Union, and thus have no possibility of sending money back to West Africa to help out at home. (It can be argued that with scholarships of free tuition, and room, and ninety rubles a month for food and expenses, there is no need to work.) Some students in addition to feeling restricted in traveling outside the Soviet Union, also felt restricted within it. "I wanted to go to Tashkent and was told only people in a certain expedition could go. I couldn't go by myself because they thought I would go into an area where I shouldn't go." Another student added, "Yes, you can go where they want you to, but that's all."

Paradoxically, one of the big surprises for these students was the freedom of the Russian people. "I thought people couldn't move freely. I got into a cab and saw people going anyplace they wanted. I was surprised," one Nigerian remarked. Another African said, "I had records of 'high life' (West African popular dance music) and wanted to bring them, but didn't because I thought I wouldn't be free to play them—that's only propaganda." Still another student remarked, "I had worked in a bank and always heard Europeans talk about Russia. I thought you couldn't walk around, you'd be arrested. I thought there were no lawyers or courts—but it was all lies." There was surprise at seeing families living together. "I thought everybody would be living on collective farms," said one student. Another said laughingly, but in seriousness, "I was even looking for the Iron Curtain." Reflecting the influence of the Western press, these students were surprised to find that the Russian people have no desire to break loose from the Communist system. Indeed they are relatively content, and don't know they are not a part of the "Free World."

WHEN African students return home from study in the Soviet Union and make comparisons with students returning from the United States, they can ask themselves a simple question. Which was more critical: the loss of material well-being which they experienced in the Soviet Union or the loss of human dignity which they experienced in the United States? The African does not want to lose either. Only the United States, among all the countries in the world, can give him both, for as Khrushchev himself has said, the Soviet Union must "catch up" with the United States in standard of living.

As the African becomes increasingly aware of this vast difference in material development in these two countries, he is faced with a great dilemma. He knows of the desperate need to lift the standard of living in Africa. He sees the United States can best help in lifting this level. Additionally, he is oriented toward the West, or as several African students commented, "Old friends are better than new friends. The West is our friend. We believe in democracy." Because of these things, he turns to the United States and other Western nations for aid. But every time he accepts it, he suffers a loss of dignity. He knows that because of his color he is not perceived as an equal person who comes from an equal nation. This is why African countries can accept aid from the United States and still be unfriendly to the United States.

The United States should not force the African, or any group, to make a choice between human dignity and material well-being, for in the end, no matter how much is given, the need for human dignity will win out and force a total break from the influence of the American way of life, or at best a resentful, reluctant acceptance of it. The challenge to America is to remove this one tragic flaw of racial discrimination so she can take her place without qualification as the true leader of the world in African eyes.

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"The Town Is Dying and There Is No Cure"

Down on the Farm

MURRAY POLNER

THE HISTORY of the chronicling and interpretation of rural and small town America has been written with a quasi-religious fervor. Historians, novelists, and political orators have contributed heavily to the scene. How moving are the virtues of the soil, the endless cycles of the seasons, the hard-working farmers so close to the eternal verities of life and death. And how blessed were the American farmers to evolve without a feudal tradition, and in a mobile society so that the half-truth of a continuous and staunch individualism might be tacked on to this euphoric picture.

It has been so since before Jefferson's adulation of the saintliness of a decentralized farmer republic, since the gentlemen-farmers of the nineteenth century got it into their heads that the agrarian life was somehow representative of a superior way of life. The exaggeration of farmer independence was absorbed by countless generations, bolstered by such major historians as Frederick Jackson Turner and John D. Hicks, both of whom detected a straight line of democratic development leading from the concept of the frontier and the Populist turmoil. It was strengthened by the fact that this was a predominantly rural nation until well into the last century.

The partial truth is still maintained by a good many people to this day, but since the end of World War I it has become somewhat tarnished. Particularly so has this been the case since 1946 when, with the Second World War ended, the American farmer found himself more and more caught in steel jaws: an ever-increasing mechanization, which magnified the application of power to agriculture. This has brought in its wake impossibly high yields and monstrous food surpluses, together with a sharply decreased acreage necessary for an ample food supply. And with the coming of what has amounted to a time of troubles, there has been a bewildering inability of the family farmer and his spokesmen to understand quite what has happened to them.

All this is by way of introduction to a remarkable little book (*The Talk in Vandalia.* By Joseph P. Lyford. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. $1.) that sets down, more clearly and graphically than any other (at least since the days when the W.P.A. published verbatim interviews with Southern farmers trying to ride out the crest of their depression) the current troubles of family farmers in one small corner of midland America.

VANDALIA, Illinois, sits in the southern part of the state, not far from the area Abraham Lincoln represented in the Illinois House of Representatives. Theoretically it should be a busy little town. It is a county seat, population five thousand, poised at a junction of the Pennsylvania and Illinois Railroads and fronting on the Kaskaskia River. But the trains only roar through the center of the town, never stopping for passengers, and the river is erratic, swollen in the spring, caked in the summer and frozen over completely during the cold spells.

There are, however, bucolic and nostalgic qualities about the town. There are still several one-room school houses that farm families wish to retain as long as possible. There are plenty of Protestant churches. There is an active and self-congratulatory, if relatively unproductive, chamber of commerce. There are also bankers who defend the farmers, a few small factories and a good deal of friendliness and warmth for fellow townspeople, if not for outsiders.

Nevertheless, in spite of such qualities, Mr. Lyford tells us these are merely the superficial sheen over an ugly and terrifying malignancy—for the town is dying and there is no cure. And the town is doomed, he writes, because of what rural economists like to call an "economic revolution" on the land. Indeed, if one considers the nineteenth century harvester, reaper and steel plow as constituting the first agricultural revolution, certainly mechanization on today's scale constitutes a second great transformation.

Consider for a moment these simple statistical facts that can be drawn from Lyford's remarks: The farmer is paying nearly twice as much for his tractor now than at the close of World War II, but at the same time he receives fifty per cent less for his corn. Lyford estimates that the average annual net farm income in Vandalia is now somewhere near $3,400, almost $1,000 less than the state average. Even considering that country and city costs of living are quite different, there is still the glaring fact that country incomes are rising at a much smaller rate.

MURRAY POLNER, a previous contributor to The Commonweal, is a member of the faculty at Queens College, New York.

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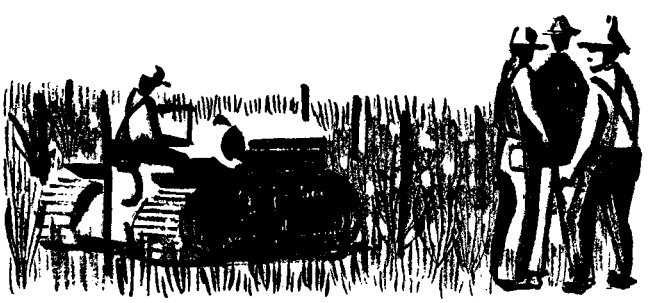
In order to survive, the farmer has to buy or rent more and more land. Yet the price of land around Vandalia has soared from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars an acre. Moreover, farmers now have to compete with speculators and middle class professionals such as doctors and lawyers, who are buying up the best land for investment and tax purposes. ("They're the real capitalists in our part of the state," farmers kept telling Lyford. "Just look around. Who drives the Cadillacs?") One farmer told Lyford he needed two hundred acres today, where his father, in the twenties farmed profitably only eighty acres.

The impact of all this is clearer when one notes the drop in the labor force needed today—a drop to less than fourteen per cent of the population living on farms in this country, a figure representing thirteen per cent of our total labor force. In personal terms, here is what it means to another Vandalia farmer: "I've been in debt clear up to my ears. The interest on my loans is eating me up. . . . I've been in debt every year since 1956. My land isn't enough to support my family. . . . The boys [four sons] want to be farmers, and I've tried to talk them out of it. . . . I'm pinned down. It's been real bad this year, the worst I've seen."

The paradox is that for the first time in man's recorded history he has the ability to grow a sufficient food supply and have time left for physical and material comfort. Ease and profit are within reach, but only for the increasingly few family farmers who can ride out the revolution and survive. And like the English peasants who were driven off their farms by the enclosure movement, the dispossessed in Vandalia will drift away, down to St. Louis, East St. Louis, away to Decatur and all the other industrial cities that can absorb them.

ALREADY the loss of Vandalia's young is alarming. Other towns have lost their most ambitious and their brightest children and carried on, sluggishly and parochially perhaps, but carried on nonetheless. But now Vandalia is watching helplessly while her young go off in search of another way of life. "How can I ask my boys to work for me when they're out of school," asked another farmer, "no matter how much I need them, the way things are?" They have left and continue to leave, said another, because "you can starve on eighty acres. . . . People who live a thousand miles away talk about how the Government is propping us up. What can the Government do for me? I get eighty cents a bushel for corn. . . ." The price, incidentally, was $2.25 in 1946.



"The farmers as I know them are disappearing," said one of the few successful farmers (he inherited a going large farm and rents an additional two hundred acres). "Farming is a gamble, the sort of gamble you can't resign from until they've chased you out or you're worn out for keeps. There isn't anything in between winning out or losing everything."

All of this is true, but what can be done? Induce factories to come to Vandalia? The local chamber did lure several factories. They pay coolie wages, $1.15 to $2.25 per hour, the top wage reserved for piece work. The fifty-nine-year-old business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union has worked in the same shop since Herbert Hoover's Presidency. He takes home a little more than sixty dollars a week. One of the factories even rents its equipment so that it can leave quickly and profitably whenever wage demands, taxes or the like become too demanding.

Can the citizens turn to the organized farm lobbies and organizations? Vandalians agree that with one rare exception they are at their mercy. A local banker—like the Southern banker of the 1890's who sided with the Populist farmers—blames the "conservative and wealthy farmers who oppose government help and . . . are really on the side of the revolution." Can the federal government help? Yes, but only so far. Almost to a man they confess that without price supports they might have sunk long before. One veteran of the Depression told Lyford, "We certainly don't want to go back to the old days of the Depression. Plenty of farmers still say it's immoral to take any help. But if you talk to an ordinary dirt farmer he'll tell you that if it hadn't been for the government he would have been ruined long ago."

The farmers need the federal government, then, despite the damage it does to the hoary tales of independence uttered by the farmers' spokesmen—few of whom are farmers—and whose eulogies of the family farm become "louder and more frequent in direct proportion to the approach of economic doom." The old aphorisms have a hollow sound. You can save all of your life, work hard, raise your children as best as you know how and end up confronted by hopeless bankruptcy.

In Vandalia the pharmacies sell a good many tranquilizers, while the town blinks at the massive technological and economic pressures that are killing it. She won't make it and this, I think, lends a sadness to this extraordinary report. She won't make it because no one quite knows how to save the American family farmer. Sweeping impersonal forces have sentenced him to death in Vandalia and compelled him to eke out a precarious living on the land or try his luck in the indifferent and competitive world elsewhere.

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"Good Cause, Bad Argument"

Harrisburg, Penna.

TO THE EDITORS: May I suggest that your April 5th editorial entitled "Good Cause, Bad Argument" be retitled "Wrong Cause, Good Argument." You have argued ably to repel an unseemly attack upon public education and to demolish an untenable position in support of aid to church-related education.

What is baffling about your editorial, however, is that the attack which it repels seems nowhere to have been undertaken and the position which it demolishes seems to have been advanced by nobody. What is regrettable about your editorial is that it will now likely be brandished as a "Catholic magazine's trenchant answer" to an argument which *has* in fact been made in the religion-in-education controversy. This latter argument, like the one which you attack, speaks of the *Torcaso* case and of its definition of "religion" and of "secular humanism" in public schools. I had stated this argument in substance upon the pages of *Commonweal* on July 27 ("The Forbidden Prayer"), and on October 12—upon the latter occasion referring to a series of two articles in the Summer and Fall, 1962, issues of *The Catholic Lawyer*, in which I developed some of the constitutional considerations in greater detail. Looking over those texts, I find an argument that bears superficial resemblance to the argument which you attack. But there is a world of difference between the two.

The position which I, at least, have argued does not depend upon "isolated passages in individual court decisions." It relates rather to the very essentials of decisions by the Supreme Court. This position, far from being a "debater's trick" based upon fine print in the *Torcaso* case, constitutes merely a recognition of what the Court has pronounced in a series of cases. Moreover, the question is not whether the public schools should not teach values promotive of the common good but whether the Court has not now stated premises which logically bar such teaching. Lastly, at least so far as my own arguments have run, more is involved than a question of *"religion,"* namely "orthodoxies" and value-inculcations broadly.

It seems inescapably clear that the Court has pronounced in favor of absolute neutrality in the public schools, so far not only as religion is concerned but so far as ideology, ethics, politics, and other "values" are concerned. Under this view, a consensus in the community in support of the inculcating of any sort of orthodoxies in the public schools does not suffice to render their teaching permissible. Thus the expression of theistic religious values in the form of a public school prayer was found constitutionally objectionable even though the practice may have rested upon widespread popular acceptance. Thus also in the *Barnette* case the Court declared unconstitutional the imposition upon a Jehovah's Witness of the patriotic practice of flag-saluting. Here was no matter of religion, but the Court made it plain that *religious* values are not the sole values which the state is barred from prescribing, but rather, in the words of Justice Jackson, *"what shall be orthodox* in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion."

The new definition of "religion" given by the Court in the *Torcaso* case, while adding nothing to what the Court had already laid down in *Barnette* and numerous other cases concerned with loyalty, academic freedom and other areas of First Amendment concern, raised the status of non-theistic belief to the high dignity of "religion"—even where the "belief" was unformulated and constituted nothing more than an "outlook" which rendered oath-taking unacceptable.

Certainly one way to look at *Torcaso* is to see in it a great sensitivity upon the part of the Court to the importance of philosophic outlook and ideas. Certainly also, the answer to the question of whether given philosophic outlooks, ideas, conduct prescriptions and value-expressions are to be officially promoted by the state does not depend upon whether we call them "religion" (under the *Torcaso* definition) or not. It is the effect of the Court's decisions that theistic religions now take their place in an indefinitely long line of theistic and non-theistic orthodoxies, value-expressions and ideas which the state has been declared powerless to prescribe.

Not unnaturally, then, a question has arisen in connection with the school aid problem: shall some value-affirmations be the favorites of the state?

Today, if a public school textbook teaches the lesson that people should be fair to other racial groups "because all men are made in the image and likeness of God," this must be found, under existing decisions of the Court, to be constitutionally prohibited. This prohibition can (but will not have to) rest upon the view that here is a teaching of religion. Suppose, however, that the textbook provides a somewhat different intellectual prop for its teaching against discrimination: "because democracy demands this of us." It is not to disparage this prop to deny that it now has any different legal status than the first idea which mentioned "God." Nor would I be able to say that the second idea should have any better legal status because resting upon a sup-

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posed consensus. First, many people reject the "democracy" rationale as a matter of conscience; again, even if but a handful of persons objected to this rationale, the Court has plainly voiced the view that majorities shall not officially prevail in matters of belief.

At a time when parents who support church-related schools are being told that the state may not aid the achievement of *secular* essentials in such schools, it is of more than passing interest to explore whether in schools now receiving public funds there is involved the support of anything more than simon-pure secular essentials. While argument will doubtless continue over the question of whether any education can be philosophically or morally "neutral," and again over the meaning (to borrow your phrase) of "instilling secular humanism," we will be ill advised to close our ears to the many voices—such as those of Mr. Justice Douglas and Dr. Theodore Powell (both speaking recently before the annual meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House)—who have vigorously generalized concerning ideological *non*-neutrality in public education at the present.

Your editorial speaks of "motives." Indeed we must credit public school administrators with the best of motives. But the questions here involved do not relate to motives. They relate to certain Court-declared principles in which we now find ourselves bracketed. These pronouncements, assuredly intended for the protection of freedom of mind and conscience, are not limited in their application to theism. While it may be that their full application will not be pressed with respect to nontheistic value-inculcations, it can at least be said that the problems which they raise underscore the need for wider applications of existing doctrine that secular educational objectives, achieved within institutions which satisfy the conscientious requirements of their sponsors, may be publicly aided.

WILLIAM B. BALL

Uniondale, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Again the great restraining hand of The Commonweal has entered ("Good Cause, Bad Argument") the federal aid-church school debate. "Whoa, Catholics," you say, "no 'curious tactical ploys, semantic gerrymanderings, word plays, debaters' tricks, linguistic legislating for sectarian ends': fight fair!" Your plea for a serene total vision is admirable, but you do less than justice—in fact a real disservice—to the men whose argument you characterize with the epithets above. Their motives are not puny, and you should make neither men nor motives appear so.

Furthermore, their position need not rest upon defining secular humanism as a metaphysical rejection of a personal, providential God. Neither the Supreme Court nor the American people is conspicuously metaphysical, though both generally admit to the matter of degree. Surely the question of secular humanism in public schools is a matter of degree, and not of perfect metaphysical realization, but none the less real for that. It cannot be denied that the modern American public school has excluded from its purview religious teaching and, for the most part, religious expression. The initial motivation—to reject God? to avoid religious tensions?—is not as important as the consequence: In the context of the school there can be no appeal beyond man. Such exclusion (not mere absence), or rigid dissociation, cannot be fairly termed neutrality. There is indeed a difference between neutrality and "instilling secular humanism." But systematic exclusion is not neutrality. A university so acting would not be judged neutral. Is the *concept* so different on the elementary level?

When traditional religion is excluded as an "impossible," the basis for loyalty, human dignity, right and wrong; the treatment given such things as social justice, man's spiritual history, methods of discovering truth—not to mention the problem of the philosophical orientation of subject matter—must necessarily be different. And being excluded, traditional religion is easy to oppose, though not easy to make relevant or defend, even as just "one of man's opinions." Preachments, motivations, analyses, solutions must be rigidly confined to the ethos of man, which is a secular humanism of effect, if not of intent. This rigidly confined humanistic ethos of the public school should be no less objectionable than the theocentric ethos of a religious school, though the latter alone bears the "stigma" of religious permeation. There's permeation in both schools, but in a democratic society this should prejudice neither. Society doesn't judge between anthropocentric and theocentric views, but merely insures that both sides live together, equally unimpeded, in peace.

Finally, it is one thing to regard the permeation question as an "unhelpful" approach (which it is) to the whole issue; it is another to recognize that the opposition judges it a thoroughly cogent argument. Debate, even ad hoc debate, has a place in the discovery of truth. A down-the-nose dismissal of a careful argument offends against intellectual justice—another good, even sacred cause. Neither is it served by bad argument.

(Rev.) DANIEL S. HAMILTON

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: In commenting on your editorial "Good Cause, Bad Argument" [April 5], let me say at the outset that I am not one of those Catholics who have been going about using the argument based on secularistic religion in the public schools. I do not think it is quite fair, however, to suggest that the purpose of this argument is "obfuscatory."

Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School has now joined the chorus of those protesting against the absolutists' interpretation of the First Amendment. As far as I can see, the intent of the "religion in the public

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schools" argument is to help the absolutists to stop and think of the absurd consequences to which their own principles will lead them. Is this bad? Socrates, Plato and Aquinas often used this approach.

It is perfectly valid for The Commonweal to remind us that this kind of argument does not reach to the heart of the matter and to the worries many have. A pluralistic society needs reasonable pragmatic solutions. The real problem is to find a way to persuade the absolutists to *want* a reasonable solution. As it is, they can only interpret a proposal to be "reasonable" as a sign of weak logic and as a request for unacceptable compromises with their principles.

Tactics, of course, are always a matter of opinion. The Commonweal, however, chose to challenge the logic of the argument. It is precisely here that I cannot follow your reasoning. The "ingenious" argument still stands. This argument is not a new one. It is being used in a new context. For years responsible citizens have claimed that a value system was being taught, willy-nilly, in the public schools and that this value system was a "religion." The Jesuit theologian, Father Gustave Weigel, was one of these advocates.

The argument has now simply been given sharper focus by the Supreme Court in the *Torcaso* case. It is a valid inference from this decision, written by Mr. Justice Black, that the Court itself, at least in some matters, is prepared to accept a very broad definition of religion; a definition which does not involve any position on the existence of the supernatural, a definition which embraces those who leave out God. Surely it is not a mere "debater's trick" to point out that the Court itself has unwittingly encouraged an interpretation of the First Amendment which turns the tables on the absolutists. The Court can surely maneuver out of this box but ultimately its opinions must make sense in the public forum.

The Commonweal misses the point when it attempts to argue whether or not "secular humanism" is taught in the public school, and whether or not "secular humanism" is explicitly instilled. The label is unimportant, and so is the *particular* religion. ("Secular humanism," however, does not carry the offensive connotation of "secularism.") The inescapable fact is that *some* system of values (religion in the broad sense) is being taught. It may vary from school to school. The Court used "secular humanism" only as one example of many religions which do not profess belief in God.

The motives, the intentions, the explicit declarations or silences of the public schools are irrelevant. A metaphysical view is what it is. Or does The Commonweal seriously maintain that it is possible to be neutral in metaphysics or in religion? Perhaps this is the crux of the question.

I am particularly troubled by the attempt to dismiss the argument as a mere "debater's trick." Is not this in itself a debater's trick? And what of the use of such terms as "obfuscatory," "tactical ploy," "ingenious argument," "semantic gerrymandering," and "word play"? Perhaps I am not doing justice to The Commonweal position. A brief editorial does not always permit sufficient explanations. I, for one, would appreciate a much more extended treatment of this whole question.

LEONARD F. MANNING
Fordham Law School

Cincinnati, Ohio

TO THE EDITORS: The Commonweal, in its lead editorial, April 5, 1963, "Good Cause, Bad Argument," finds fault with those who claim that secular humanism is becoming the religion of the public schools. (We are dealing with the public school as it must legally operate, not what happens at times in actual practice.) The gist of the argument, I take it, is in these two sentences: "If 'secular humanism' means anything at all, it means at least a view of life which metaphysically precludes the existence and governance of a personal God. But the curriculum of the public school implies no such thing; it simply refuses to treat the problem at all."

It is true that the public school does not formally teach secular humanism as a metaphysical system. It is also true that the public school does not teach religion *qua religion*. But, unless it forfeits all claim to be an educational institution, it cannot, and does not, fail to deal with some of the very problems with which religion is concerned. Probably the most common one would be the source of morality and the sanction of the moral law. Teachers on all levels naturally try to inculcate good moral habits in their students. But the question must arise, Why be moral? If the answers are not given in terms of traditional theistic religion, they will be given on some other basis. What else would it be except some human values?

Let me illustrate by two examples. Some few years ago, I had a student in class at a Catholic women's college who had spent the first eleven years of her schooling in the public schools. In the senior year of high school she attended a Catholic academy, and then came to the Catholic college. On one occasion we were discussing in class the question of democracy as a way of life. After the class, she came to me and said substantially this: Although she is now in her fourth year in a Catholic school, she still finds it difficult to eradicate from her mind the idea that the norm of morality is democracy, i.e., the will of the people. For eleven years democratic living had been held up to her as the norm of life, even though no teacher had formally denied the existence of God.

In 1951 the National Education Association of the United States sought to instruct teachers in a booklet entitled "Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools." There is one chapter that deals with sanctions.

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A hypothetical case is presented in which a boy bought a chocolate bar for six cents and received in change for his dime what appeared to be four pennies, but turned out to be three pennies and a dime. The reader is then asked to consider how he would convince the boy that he should return the excess money given him by mistake. Seven different possible arguments are given, but nowhere is it proposed that his failure to return the money would violate the law of God.

The point is that even though a public school does not formally teach secular humanism or explicitly deny the existence of God, its treatment of such problems consistently without reference to God can hardly help but leave students with the impression that all values rest somehow or other on a purely human basis. Secular humanism? Call it what you please, but the student who has received no religious instruction at home or at church, and has attended a public school for twelve years, will on the basis of what he learned in public schools almost inevitably form a system of values which rest on a purely human basis. To me this is secular humanism in practice, if not in theory.

(Rt. Rev.) CARL J. RYAN
Supt. of Schools, Archdiocese of Cincinnati

Reply

TAKEN TOGETHER, the above letters raise far more problems than can be dealt with adequately here; then too, there are many points on which we would agree with the authors. As always, one great difficulty lies in an initial sorting out of the different issues; much will depend upon where one chooses to lay the emphasis.

Mr. Ball, for instance, objects to our editorial on the ground that we attack an argument which no one is advancing. Yet there *are* those who are attempting to press just the argument we deplored. In a recent issue of a popular Catholic magazine, for example, the following point was made: "In every school some sort of religion permeates every subject in the curriculum." Now whether Mr. Ball would accept this statement as a reasonably accurate popularization of his more complex line of thought is not clear to us. We hope he does not; in any event, there are some who do proceed in this fashion. As for Mr. Ball's position, its very complexity would seem to militate against any simple, triumphalistic brandishing of it in the face of opponents of federal aid to religious schools; the issues, much less the court decisions, are just not that clear.

Indeed, there is very little that is clear on any of the issues raised by the other critics of our editorial. Monsignor Ryan, for one, presents a number of pertinent cases to show that in practice there is secular humanism in the public schools. Yet one can only ask here whether the nationwide pattern of practice is so consistent as to allow any meaningful generalizations? In some parts of the country, notably the South, the public school curriculum contains a heavy amount of religious emphasis; in others there is little or none. This is not to deny, of course, Monsignor Ryan's apt query about the basis on which moral values are to be instilled.

In this respect, Father Hamilton's judgment that "the question of secular humanism in public schools is a matter of degree, and not of perfect metaphysical realization . . ." is very relevant. However, when he concludes his sentence with the phrase "but none the less real for that" some complications arise. The most obvious is that there is also a considerable slice of Christian values present in the public schools. What seems apparent to us is that, in practice, the values permeating the public schools are of a mixed lot.

Mr. Manning comes close, as he suspects, to the central problem when he asserts that "the motives, the intentions, the explicit declarations or silences of the public school are irrelevant. A metaphysical view is what it is." But this seems to us an insupportable position, one which fails to distinguish between the personal life of an individual and the aims and activities of a state and its public institutions. It may be impossible for an individual to be neutral toward ultimate values; but this does not mean that a pluralistic nation should not attempt to achieve a meaningful neutrality. If we say that neutrality is impossible for a state or nation, then we are denying that pluralism is possible.

Now it may well be the case today that we do not have a genuine neutrality in our government or in our public schools. The irony of the matter, in fact, is that some American parents object to the public schools because they favor religious values; thus we have court cases today initiated by dissenting parents. We also have parents who object to what they term the "secular humanism" of the public schools. In short, the situation is one in which many important groups have contradictory complaints about the practice of "neutrality." Something is obviously amiss.

The real question is: how are we to satisfy all sides? There is no answer to this question—as long as each side continues to want a neutrality favorable to its beliefs. Here we have one undeniable reality. But we also have the undeniable necessity in this country of a public, common school system. Just how the nation will extricate itself from its own pluralistic traps is impossible to guess. One thing we would urge now is that Catholics address themselves fully to the question of the public schools and neutrality. As long as Catholics continue to exploit the confusion in the public schools to grind their own religious-school axe (e.g., Secularism is a religion; the public schools are secular; therefore federal aid to religious schools is perfectly proper), they are not likely to help matters much. But there we go with our "great restraining hand" again. . . .

THE EDITORS

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THE SCREEN

Bluebeard Revisited

NO MATTER how much one may or may not like foreign films, one has to admit that they liven our screens and inject some thoughtful diversion into the often-routine Hollywood programs. From France comes "Landru," directed by Claude Chabrol, who was one of the chief splashers in the French *nouvelle-vague* and whose earlier film "The Cousins" was a brilliant study of modern decadence. "Landru," which tells the story of a real-life Parisian Bluebeard who was guillotined in the twenties for killing ten women, is also about decadence. It could hardly be called a study, however, as it offers little explanation for its central character's blithe attitude toward murder and is little more than a cynical and surface-skimming comedy about a man and his victims.

Because of its subject matter, "Landru" invites comparison with two other famous mass-murder comedies, Chaplin's hilarious "Monsieur Verdoux," which stemmed somewhat vaguely from the same Landru story and successfully mixed the macabre with drollery, and the English "Kind Hearts and Coronets," a sparkling tour de force in which Alec Guinness played all the victims. "Landru" comes off a third best.

Its script, the first effort of Françoise Sagan written directly for the screen, is intelligent and interesting enough; and the production itself is extraordinarily handsome with some lovely pastel color photography of the 1917 décor and costumes. Charles Denner, appearing in his first movie, is excellent as the bald bearded, suave Frenchman who seems to find no conflict at all between his regard for his wife and children and his calm, calculated seduction and murder of woman after woman. Wisely, director Chabrol doesn't show the murders but does indicate each demise by the black smoke pouring from the chimney above the stove in which Landru does away with his victims.

The main trouble with "Landru" is its mixture of styles. Landru himself is painfully real as he delicately seduces his too-willing admirers—and the black smoke is real too. But the high wit of some of the seduction scenes and the irony of each situation becomes repulsive and perverse as it is repeated again and again. And the lengthy picture, for all its amusing satire on bourgeois culture, declines into a pattern that is less amusing than tiresome. The attractive women who fall under Landru's spell are well played by Michele Morgan, Danielle Darrieux, Hildegarde Neff, Juliette Mayniel, Catherine Rouvel, Stephane Audran and others, but the slight roles hardly demand such outstanding actresses. The film is more a superficial show-piece than a worthy entertainment. This is unfortunate—because Chabrol is a good film maker. Perhaps the Bluebeard theme and suburban culture are beyond his ken.

FROM SPAIN comes another curiosity, "Lazarillo," which stems from the novel *Lazarillo de Tormes,* often credited with being the first and the best of the picaresque novels. It tells of the adventures of a little boy whose hard times and struggle for existence in sixteenth-century Spain turn him into a cynical rogue, but one whose heart still knows some goodness in spite of his calculating designs and worldly pursuits. After his mother turns him over to a blind man to serve as a guide, little Lazarillo runs away from this selfish brute and takes refuge with a priest who is even more stingy and thoughtless to the boy. After running away again Lazarillo attaches himself to a squire who is neither mean nor brutal but utterly incapable of overcoming his pride and earning a living. The boy's next adventure is with a group of traveling players led by an actor who disguises himself as a friar and sells indulgences. Even Lazarillo is revolted at what goes on here—and after straightening himself out in Confession, runs away again—but runs back to the actors because with them he knows he will have his next meal.

Under Cesar Ardavin's excellent direction, "Lazarillo" is a stirring film. The cast is good throughout, and little Marco Paoletti is superb as the innocent-wise youngster. The black-and-white photography of Spain is stunning, and anyone who will not be too upset by the tale's misanthropic view of man will derive pleasure from the whole well-made film. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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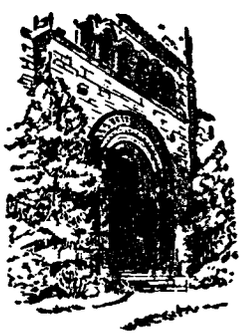

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A Theory of Conflict for the Cold War

Conflict and Defense: A General Theory. By Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper Torchbooks. $1.95.

by Amedeo F. D'Adamo, Jr.

ORGANISMS, if they are to remain viable, must be constantly successful in the competition for food and living space. Symbiotic relationships, where they occur, have as their prime function the mutual survival of the participants. This struggle for survival in the natural world is physiological in its origin and unconscious in its execution. For man, on the other hand, survival must be maintained by the conscious construction of systems of cooperation and competition and the resolution of conflicts.

That a nuclear confrontation poses a threat to man's survival is commonly accepted. That this new dimension of death and destruction cannot be controlled by past mechanisms of conflict resolution is not, for in the past, nations have considered war as an extension of diplomacy and peace as the interlude between wars. It is precisely because he believes that the empirical approaches of the past will not succeed that Mr. Kenneth Boulding, professor of economics at the University of Michigan, has formulated a general theory of conflict "to show that conflict processes are neither arbitrary, random, nor incomprehensible."

The tools and precepts he uses are those of economics, and the conflicts are defined and analyzed in these terms. This does not imply that Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev are seen merely as two neighborhood green-grocers engaged in a price war. Rather, Mr. Boulding recognizes the analogies between the present world power struggle and the competitive world of corporate expansion, unionism, and individual participation in the group.

Arguing from the principles of game theory, the contention made is that two players, while they may make or accept moves that are temporarily disadvantageous, will not make moves which result in the loss of the game for both sides. Critical to the understanding of the moves either party can make and still remain viable and at peace are the limitations imposed by both the self-image and the projected image of the participants. Thus, for example, our image of the United States is that of a nation seeking peace and concerned with legitimate defense against aggression. Yet the projected image may be distorted by a national budget in which half the funds are spent preparing for conflict. Similarly, to the Russians, the sacred soil of Mother Russia is inviolate, whereas we regard the current controversy over on-site inspections as proof of their unwillingness seriously to negotiate issues.

In the presentation of social conflicts, a skillful and articulate analysis is made of the elements of hostility and cooperation. Indeed, the originality of the author's perceptions represent a major contribution to a society which is attuned to the examination of motives.

It is unfortunate that mathematical models give an otherwise readable and important book such a formidable appearance. In fact, the abundant use of graphs and equations tend to detract rather than contribute. For the professional, much of the presentation represents an oversimplification. For the general reader, it may appear to be an involved intellectual exercise which lends itself to the rapid flipping of pages. One suspects that Mr. Boulding has succumbed to the modern disease where science alone becomes the basis for determining human action. The danger inherent in such an approach is that it encourages the illusion that all phenomena in the universe can be described and predicted by mathematical laws.

This book represents a first attempt in an area not previously subjected to such scientific analysis, and it is not certain that our understanding of symbolic language has progressed sufficiently for satisfactory conclusions to be drawn. Despite these objections and the fact that the solutions to international conflicts are proposed in the tepid phrases of "world government" and "population control," the book must be regarded as an engrossing contribution to human affairs.

Rumbles Left and Right, Mostly Right

Rumbles Left and Right. By William F. Buckley, Jr. Putnam's. $4.95.

by Daniel Callahan

ANYONE who would presume to review a book by William F. Buckley, Jr., must first establish his credentials. Mine are impeccably poor. First of all, I went to Yale, where, naturally, the Liberal Establishment ensnared my youthful mind (and where, it should be mentioned, I first heard Mr. Buckley speak at St. Thomas More Chapel to the effect that Catholics could do as well at Yale as anyone else; well, *he* certainly did). Secondly, at a somewhat later stage, I merged my Catholicism and liberalism and achieved that shadowy identity known as "the Catholic liberal." Thirdly, not so long ago, I became an editor of The Commonweal. Thus by all odds I should be an ideal assassin to serve those who would shoot a silver bullet at him or drive a wooden stake through his heart.

Alas, I cannot serve. You see, I have become "soft" on Mr. Buckley. My ideological dry rot first began to show (to my secret self, that is) when I felt that he had been badly treated by Mr. Jack Paar a couple of years ago. To be fully honest I should add that this creeping sympathy was somewhat tinged by the smirking thought that here at last were two people made for each other (I felt the same way when I read accounts of Mr. Buckley's debate with Norman Mailer). But the impulse toward creating a Fair Play for Buckley Committee was at least stirred by the evident fact that Mr. Paar succeeded in doing what had hitherto seemed impossible: he had travestied Mr. Buckley's positions.

Since that time things have not

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been the same; and the present collection of articles and addresses has weakened me even more. One reason is undoubtedly the arrangement of the book. It begins with a section containing more or less serious pieces under the general title of "Inside Politics." In them, Mr. Buckley displays many of his worst talents: a masterly use of the hatchet, the innuendo, the ad hominem argument. All told, they left me in a bad mood, sharpening the wooden stake.

But in the next section, "On the Edge of Politics," a fit of good will came over me. This was not brought on by Mr. Buckley's article "Can we Desegregate, Hesto Presto?" which struck me, even bending over backwards, as the ultimate in sophisticated racism. Instead, mellowed by his exegesis of Murray Kempton, softened by his reply to Jack Paar, and captivated by his personal reminiscences in "The Last Years of Whittaker Chambers," I find myself ready to believe he is not a vampire after all. It was the last-mentioned essay which did the trick; in it, Mr. Buckley revealed a side of himself which he usually does his best to conceal: human sensitivity. By the time I had finished the last section, "Outside Politics"—which contains a delightful piece on the amateur sailor—I was in a putty-like state. By then the first section had been entirely forgotten.

There will be those who will say that I have been seduced by his rhetorical charms; that is probably true. Then, too, there will be those fearful that my flint-hard liberal heart is cracking; but I deny that. Perhaps the best explanation is that I suffer from the liberal disease Mr. Buckley takes such pains to expose: a rampant, naive proneness to see the good side of things, to wish away the bad. The only thing lacking is a suitably soft-headed title for him: if Mao-tse Tung is an "agrarian reformer," what are we to call Mr. Buckley? The question stumps me. Anyway, while we are thinking about it, this is as good a time as any to cease calling him a "National Review Catholic." Aren't we liberals above that kind of thing?

Missing Persons

Francis was reminding Stephen of years before when they had been at school together in Conmee's time. He asked about Glaucon, Alcibiades, Pisistratus. Where were they now?
—James Joyce: *Ulysses*

For years I should have said I hardly cared.
Of late, I've been (bifocally) concerned.
Now, once a month at least, I make a search.

The trail deceives with promising clues:
Swarms of second aorists;
An occasional chalk-stained biretta;
Somebody's tubular hockey skates,
Ice shavings sweating on the blades;
The principal parts of *utor* inked
Into a scratched desk-top.

The steamy smell of indoor winter
Hangs above the trail.
The color chafing the enveloping air
Is Rand-McNally blue.

My reports are easy to write:
In months and months of searching
I have not heard a single voice,
Or seen a single face,
Or touched a single hand.

JOHN C. HANLEY

Under Hitler's Rule

The Birthday King. By Gabriel Fielding. Morrow. $5.95.

by Thomas Curley

I READ Mr. Fielding's book while Hannah Arendt's reports on the Eichmann trial were appearing in *The New Yorker*. *The Birthday King* is not documentary fiction in any sense; nevertheless, the revelation of character in the novel bears a curious resemblance to the revelations that Miss Arendt reaches through careful documentation and cogent reasoning.

Anyone who undertakes to imagine life in the Third Reich is confronted with one enormous difficulty: the facts are incredible. Faced with these facts, unable either to deny or imagine them (as Miss Arendt has said elsewhere, it is as if a mouse labored and gave birth to a mountain), one is apt to create monsters in order to explain monstrous acts. But this is to miss what Miss Arendt has termed the central moral, legal, and political phenomena of our century; these phenomena constitute a condition in which the most monstrous crimes are committed with a good conscience.

Eichmann was not a monster; he was a man who followed the voice of conscience, and the voice of conscience tells the good citizen to obey not only the letter but the spirit of the law. The Führer's Order (as the Final Solution was called) was the law of Germany, indeed it had the force of law; therefore, Eichmann, who never physically (with his own hands, that is) killed anyone, went about the arduous labor of exterminating Jews with a good conscience. Most people find this almost impossible to believe; I think *The Birthday King* will help us to begin to imagine it.

In the first place, there is nothing modern about Fielding's fictional method; the narrative manner is re-

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ayed, authoritative, omniscient; the style is neither intense nor "poetic." In the first chapter there is a family scene, in which the main characters, members of the board of the Weidmann industries, confront one another. They come alive, assert their individuality and begin a traditional family conflict.

In this scene the Third Reich is background only. The board members agree, with only one dissenting vote, to change the name of the firm, thereby submitting to Hitler's "suggestion." (The Weidmann's were Jews who had converted to Catholicism around 1800, and had since intermarried with Christians.) But the submission is of less importance to those involved than the conflict between Alfried Weidmann and his younger brother Ruprecht, the birthday king of the title.

As the novel progresses, however, the characters lose their sharpness and individuality; the events of war and of Hitler's terror reduce them to objects. They know what is going on, even if they do not know all the details, and yet, in order to survive they not only watch but participate in the terror.

The Weidmann family uses slave labor from the East; and Alfried Weidmann *is* betrayed and sent to a concentration camp. No conscious malice is involved, but he *is* betrayed by his brother, by his brother's mistress, who is also the wife of Baron von Hoffbach a member of the Weidmann industries, and even, it is suggested, by his mother, who withdraws into silence when she suspects what is happening. Baron von Hoffbach, who later joins the conspiracy against Hitler and is executed, thinks thus of Alfried: "Those places are not for one's friends."

What strikes one about *The Birthday King* is the contrast between the normality of the main characters and Mr. Fielding's traditional mode of narration, on the one hand, and the unprecedented character of the events in which they participated, on the other. At the end of the war, when he is threatened with denazification proceedings and thinking of fleeing to the Russian zone, the birthday king says to his wife, "Damn these political men. Damn Alfried [who had the bad grace to survive the camps] and von Hoffbach and Onkel Fritz. Damn the Party and the Führer. I did nothing, I neither joined the Party nor fought against it, yet now that I have kept our place for us it is I who am threatened with political action."

And the man is obviously sincere in his anger. It is, to him, as if he had been betrayed—by destiny, of course. When such things happen to normal people, on such a scale, it is time not only to examine one's conscience, but the very foundations on which the judgments of conscience rest.

REVIEWERS

Amedeo D'Adamo, Jr. is an assistant professor of Biochemistry and member of the Institute for Neurological Studies, Seton Hall College of Medicine.

Daniel Callahan, co-editor of *Christianity Divided* (Sheed & Ward), is an associate editor of The Commonweal.

Thomas Curley is a regular contributor and author of the recently published *Past Eve and Adam's.*

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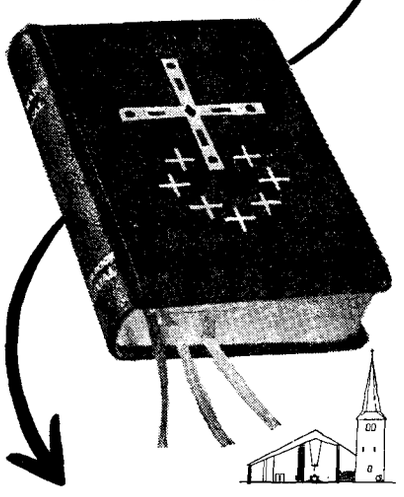

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ART

The Armory Show

AN ARTICLE about the Armory Show of International Art in *Harper's Weekly* March 15, 1913, by Mr. Kenyon Cox, well-known academic painter of the time, started off with "an acknowledgement that it is well such an exhibition should be held and that, therefore, the thanks of the public are due to the gentlemen who got it together." This is one of the few observations made in that article that still seem valid fifty years later. Although some die-hard may remark that the returns are not *yet* all in, it seems unlikely the author's verdict that Cézanne was "absolutely without talent and absolutely cut off from tradition" or that Matisse was guilty of "leering effrontery," can ever become acceptable judgments, whatever the future holds.

The first thing that should be said about the Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition of the 1913 Armory Show is a repetition of Mr. Cox's opening sentiment: a debt of real gratitude is due the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute of Utica and the Henry Street Settlement of N. Y. for their sponsorship and to "the gentlemen who got it together," in particular Joseph S. Trovato, for mustering such a very impressive number of works from the original show. More than 125 of the original 300 exhibitors are represented, and very few important artists are missing. This re-creation of a "bombshell" of the past not only offers a unique opportunity to re-examine a historical event, but to weigh its quality in the light of a half-century of developments.

The strongest impression that remains after one tries to sort out the superficial ones—for example, that this show was as much a mixture of good, bad and middling as most large shows, even though in a wider range than most—is that the works that have advanced to the highest rank in modern art are those where a large body of work substantiated and unfolded the elements first proposed here to the U. S. public. Such works are of course the Cézannes, Van Goghs, Gauguins, Matisses and Brancusis.

Marcel Duchamps' *Nude Descending a Staircase*, for all the stylish verve with which it presented the Cubist-cum-Futurist idiom, provoking the chief furor in 1913—"an explosion in a shingle factory"—looks like a set piece, a tour de force tamed by the passage of time. In the same idiom, Picasso's *Woman with a Mustard Pot* and his bronze *Woman's Head* have those individual insights into form that took them right out of any fixed pattern—and that later took *him* out and onward to other expressions.

It is perhaps significant that Redon, who was the best-seller of the show in 1913, was represented by the greatest number of paintings. It may not be too surprising that confronted for the first time with *The Red Studio*, isolated from the bulk of Matisse's work, you might feel affronted—although it does seem impossible now that anyone could have ever looked at Cézanne's *Colline des Pauvres* without admiration and respect, and without consciousness of his relation to the classical tradition. (The Metropolitan Museum, despite diatribes from Mr. Cox and others, did buy this painting at the time for $8,000.) However, it should be noted that a decade or so earlier, a similar reaction of public scorn had been general in France.

Before the opening of the 1913 show, Walt Kuhn and Arthur B. Davies, the two artists chiefly responsible for it, announced that "the core of the exhibition . . . would be a great collection of the most radical art of Europe." This is indeed the core and the glory of the present exhibition too. Nevertheless, it is particularly interesting for us to see the paintings by Marin, Kuhn, Hopper, Stuart Davis, Bellows, Hartley, etc.

Among the group of Americans, Bellows, like Prendergast, was full-formed, but some of the others, and compatriots like Max Weber and Arthur Dove (who were not included in the Armory Show) seem to have received a vital stimulus from "the most radical art of Europe" that had lively results in the decade that followed. This seed fell on ground that was prepared and sometimes on ground where growth had already started in similar directions (in the case of Dove, for instance), but the atmosphere of public aware-

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ness of "radical" forms after 1913 must have encouraged development.

An exhibit called *The Decade of the Armory Show* (at the Whitney Museum) is therefore an extremely interesting pendant to the Anniversary Exhibition; it shows to an appreciable extent what the Armory Show did to American artists. For instance, Walt Kuhn, whose *Morning* (1912) in the Armory Show has a certain näiveté, in 1920 painted the bold synopsis of *The Girl in the White Chemise.* Stuart Davis' flip sketches in the Armory gave way to the crisp, lively logic of *Boats, Gloucester* in 1917. John Marin's fresh watercolors took on a more formal substance together with a freer, more evocative style. While there were some cases in that decade where American artists fell to merely imitating "radical" terms, on the whole they absorbed them for their own use, and to great effect.

The upshot of all this may go to show that, after fifty years, not all that was once startling is now considered great, and that it is mainly the viability of a form of expression in the hands of good artists that produces great results. The lesson of the Armory Show revisited may be to point out there is no foolproof answer to what is a first-rate *way* to paint or sculpt except to see what use it can be put to by artists. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

BETTY KAUFMAN

1913 Armory Show

Armory of 69th Regiment, N. Y. C. April 6-28, 1963.

Decade of the Armory Show

City Art Museum of St. Louis, June 1-July 14, 1963.

Cleveland Museum of Art, August 6-September 15, 1963.

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, September 30-Oct. 30, 1963.

Art Institute of Chicago, November 15-December 29, 1963.

Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y., January 20-February 23, 1964.

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